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EDITOR: H.D.RAJAH.

NOVEMBER 1936.
Vol. III. No. 6.

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The New Age

VOL. III NOVEMBER 1936 NO. 6

A BRITISH PEOPLE'S FRONT

Why and How?

By G. D. H. Cole

If the world barometer were set fair for peace and prosperity, I for one should not be talking about a People's Front for Great Britain. I should be concentrating my energies on socialist propaganda, trying as hard as I could to persuade everybody I could meet that socialism ought to come, and caring very little who governed the country for the time being, provided I could feel sure that the mass of Socialist opinion was growing at a reasonable rate.

But as everyone must admit, the world barometer points not to peace and prosperity, but to storm and rain. We are all—those of us who think at all—thinking about the next world war, and when it is likely to break out, or at the best wondering whether there is any possibility of averting it. In such a situation, I maintain that it is sheer folly and obscurantism, to go on behaving as if we could manage our own affairs without reference to the rest of the world's or achieve socialism in Great Britain by a process of gradual persuasion of the electorate by means of a purely domestic appeal.

If the world situation promised peace, we socialists could afford to wait until our propaganda had been given time to win over enough people to our side,—aided as it would be, under such conditions, by the sheer logic of economic growth. We could be confident, in a peaceful world, that there would arise no force powerful enough to disturb our advance, and no counter-appeal seductive enough to draw out potential supporters away, or at the least to weaken their resistance to new anti-social gospels. But in a world full of the thirst of war, we cannot afford this complacency. It matters very much to us as well as to the peoples of other countries, what government holds office in Great Britain during the next few years, and what part Great Britain, as a world power plays in international affairs to-day and to-morrow. British action, even in the next few months, may make all the difference to Europe's future or even to the whole world's. We cannot afford to fondle our pure socialist faith, if the effect of our non-chalance is to be the strength-

ening of anti-social forces which are threatening to destroy our whole civilization.

I believe, firmly, that the first need to day is to oust the vacillating Baldwin and his divided colleagues and put in their place a Government of the "Left" by which, I mean a Government which will take sides openly with the Front Populaire in France, with the progressive Governments of the Scandinavian countries, and with Soviet Russia, against the powers which are openly and exultingly threatening, world peace. I believe that British vacillation which is interpreted on the continent half rightly and half wrongly as positive sympathy with Hitler and Nazis, is the chief cause of the growing confidence shown by the Fascist governments in Europe and by Japan in flouting international obligations and in preaching to the whole world that brute force is the only argument that counts. Our vacillation, our half sympathy with fascism against the so called "Reds" our refusal to give effective support either to the League of Nations or to the Blum Government in France—to say nothing of the liberal Government of Spain which has been fighting for its life against armed insurrection subsidised by Fascist Agents—has paralysed the forces making for peace and collective security in distracted Europe. It has encouraged Hitler and Mussolini to believe that they have only to grab and everything shall be added unto them; and it has caused a lamentable dismay and affright in all the smaller countries that would gladly play their parts in a pact of mutual security really and wholeheartedly backed by France and Great Britain acting together.

The reason for desiring a People's Front in Great Britain is to be found abroad and not mainly at home. British Fascism even including the variety that is to be discovered in Downing Street as well as the more theatrical type sponsored by Sir Oswald Mosley, would be quite harmless if World conditions were tranquil and world peace assured. They are far more harmless just because we may at any moment be confronted with a world crisis that will sweep reaction into unchallengeable authority in Great Britain and even line us up as a Nation not on the democratic and progressive, but on the Fascist side.

In these circumstances, there are certain urgent needs which transcend all others in the sphere of immediate policy. First and foremost, the need to do all we can to rescue western civilization by preventing war. There is, of course more than one view about the right way of doing this. One group headed by Mr. Lansbury bases its policy on a personal appeal to the peoples of all countries to out-law war in all its forms, while another group appears to hold that the best way of preventing war is to let Hitler and Mussolini have everything they want without it. I wish I could agree with Mr. Lansbury, but I cannot; the appeal to eschew all violence is too one sided when it cannot be made openly in the countries which are at present disturbers of world peace. As far those who would simply let the Nazis and Fascists overrun the world to their heart's content, at all events, as long as they keep their hands off the territories under British Control, I cannot agree with them either for I feel sure the fascist appetite grows with what it feeds on, and concession after concession now will only strengthen their hands for still more devastating war later on. I mean therefore by the rallying of all our forces for the prevention of war the creation of a powerful "Left" bloc committed to common action with the other threatened and peace seeking countries against aggression and for mutual defence. This involves to my mind a triple pact between Great Britain, France, and U.S.S.R. open to all countries which agree to its terms, and to a pooling of their forces for

mutual defence and designed especially to include the smaller democratic states of western and central Europe.

But we cannot have a left Bloc or people's Front for foreign affairs alone even if our principal object is to achieve a united foreign policy for defence of peace and liberty. If the Left is to act together in foreign affairs, it must come to terms about the home policy which is to be followed when it has ousted the nationals' and is called upon to accept the responsibility of governing the country. Now I do not believe, and I suppose no socialist believes that a long run home policy can be worked out on agreed lines between socialists who are also on the "Left" in foreign affairs, even if the home policy of these anti-socialists is progressive "after the fashion of the next-five years group." At some point, it will have to be settled whether Britain is to become a socialist country or not, and when that choice has to be taken, there is bound to be a new alignment of forces and opinions.

But I do not believe that choice has to be taken now, for the moment the most urgent task, is not to make Britain Socialist, but to check the world advance of the powers of slavery, and destruction, to save a Britain, capable of choosing between freedom, will be a political possibility. Accordingly our immediate home policy should be, primarily, not a socialist policy as such, but a policy of immediate social advancement and economic prosperity. Such a policy will doubtless include many "Socialistic" measures: and that it should do so is all to the good. But its direct aim will be not to build a new economic and social order but to rally support behind it by the immediately beneficent results which it yields.

The essentials of such a policy in home affairs, as far as they can be compressed into a few paragraphs, seem to me to be these.

(1) An immediate improvement in the treatment of the unemployed and their dependents up to a standard which will at least guarantee the means of fully adequate nutrition for both children and adults with a reasonable surplus left over for inevitable wastages and moderate enjoyments.

(2) A real attempt to develop industries and means of useful employment in the depressed areas involving a real attempt at regional economic planning and an effective public control over the localisation and development of new industrial enterprises.

(3) An effective assurance, through the reform of the Bank of England, and of the banking system as a whole, that the credit structure will be administered with a view to international economic needs, and in harmony with the requirements of an economic plan devised under public control. (4) A policy of production aiming at the expansion of out put of consumption and not at restriction in order to maintain profits. This involves effective public control over the working of trusts and combines and over the price spreading at various stages of production and distribution. More fundamentally it involves a complete reversal of the attitude towards production now officially endorsed so as to make the consumer, and not the profit maker the pivot of the system.

(5) In relation to foreign trade, a policy of steadily lowering barriers against imports especially by means of bi-lateral tariff or on tariff bargains, and therewith the reconstitution of the import duties advisory committee with a different personal and in close relationship to a new authority to be established for the supervision of a general economic plan.

(6) The effective raising of the school leaving age at once to 15 with adequate grants for maintenence and at the least the institution of a voluntary system of retiring pensions on and adequate living, scale for all workers, insured or

uninsured, who can prove that they have been unemployed for more than say, 2 years out of the past six.

(7) The re-introduction of public works as a means of increasing economic activity, and especially (a) a new housing drive designed to provide houses to let within the means of the poorer families; (b) a big drive towards an improved public health service, through better water supply public hospital, and other medical accommodation, and the extension of medical benefits to the dependents of the insured population. (c) Better provision under public auspices of playing fields, parks, and open spaces, and social and recreational centres both on new housing estates and in other urban areas.

(8) The development and extension of the minimum wage system so as to make unlawful and employment of any person in any occupation at less than an approved legal minimum wage, and the extension to the wage-fixing authorities of the power to regulate hours of labour, with an over-riding maximum of 44 hours at most, and a recommendation to apply the 40 hour week over the widest practicable field.

(9) The compulsory re-organization of certain basic industries under the control of publicly appointed commissions, responsible to Parliament, and endowed with power to acquire subject to reasonable compensation on a basis of prospective net revenue, any or all of the properties in these industries now in private hands. This power should extend at least to the following industries—armament making, steel, coal, electricity, rail, and road transport, shipping, docks, cotton, the manufacture and import of essential foodstuffs building. This does not mean that all these industries would be nationalised out and out, but that each would at the least be brought under the control of a supervising public authority acting in conformity with the general directives of the central economic plan.

(10) An agreement to take all necessary steps to abolish the House of Lords on the first attempt by that body to obstruct the execution of the agreed programme.

(11) An electoral Agreement between the People's Front groups to conduct where-ever possible, a trial ballot among their combined supporters before the general election on the understanding that the successful candidate at this trial ballot will receive the United support of the Peoples Front at the General election itself.

(12) Last but not least, the suppression of political uniforms and private armies of all sorts, an effective guarantee of the rights of free speech and public meeting through the action of a reformed and democratised police, a revision of the laws relating to public assembly, libel' and slander, and other matters effecting personal and political freedom; the repeal of the Trade Union act of 1927 and reform of the electoral system so as to reduce permissible expenditure, abolish the use of motor Vehicles for carrying voters, to the poll, and institute the second ballot.

The last but one of these points raises, of course by far the most difficult issue. The labour party has been hoping ever since 1918, to win a clear majority for itself, in the House of Commons. The extermination of liberalism as a parliamentary force has seemed to it a necessary step towards that end- But though parliamentary liberalism by its own internal divisions has done its best to commit suicide, the liberal electorate, though much reduced, firmly refuses to disappear and there remain enough liberal candidates, and liberal abstentionist voters to affect the issue in many constituencies which ought to return a "Left" M. P.

My unhesitating opinion is that apart from quite unforeseen circumstances the labour party is unlikely to win a clear majority either at the next election or at the next but one,

and that in the abssence of a People's Front its failure to do so is likely to leave Britain to be governed by forces hostile to the liberty of progress of the world and incapable of preventing European war. I believe the labour Party would gain the possibility of a clear socialist majority by allying itself for the time being with all other groups prepared to accept something like the programme outlined above. But there are certain reservations. (a) I am not proposing a labour-liberal alliance. I do not believe that the liberal party, as a party, can be regarded as belonging to the "Left" though many of its members can. The alliance must therefore be not with the Liberal party as such, but between the labour party and the liberal group prepared to accept the common programme. (b) among non-socialists the People's Front must not be confined to liberals. It must be open to "Left wing" conservatives to non-party supporters of the League of Nations union—in fact to any group that is prepared to come in on the basis of the agreed programme. (c) It is out of question to create a People's front without including communists party. The Communist party is very small at present, but it includes many generous hearted supporters of the cause of real democracy and freedom especially among the younger men and women. It has far more working class sympathy and support than its membership reveals. Finally the effect of an extension of the Labour Front to the right, without a parallel extention to the left would be to drive many more active socialists out of the labour ranks into the C. P. or the I. L. P.—or perhaps merely to sulk in their tents and abandon the struggle. (d) But the admission of the communists can be best secured not by making the C. P. G. B. an independent member of the People's Front but by accepting its proffered affiliation to the labour party on a basis of acceptance of the labour party's rules and constitution. I hope I have made it clear that the reason for putting forward these proposals lies in the International situation, which has made home affairs necessarily for the time being, secondary to the following of a correct democratic foreign policy for the maintenence of peace and freedom. I hope too I have made it clear that I am not in favour of an alliance between the labour party and the liberal party as such or indeed of any people's Front that is not solidly based on working class unity which requires the acceptance of the C. P. into labour party's ranks. I hope I have made it clear that I am not abating one jot of my socialist faith but only showing reasonable common-sense in being prepared to wait awhile for socialism (which we cannot get in fact any sooner by any means) in order that we may do our best to stave off the threat which is now being directed by fascism against all liberty, all human decency in social and international relationships, all democracy and in short against the very survival of civilisation in western Europe. The course of socialism will be not advanced but lost if socialists lack the elementary common sense to call all hands in order to stave the sinking ship instead of proclaiming proudly that they are navigating the vessel with the best seamanship and that all will be well when they have got into port. If I remember rightly the boy who stood on the burning deck did not live to go to sea another day.

——

IN HITLER'S PARADISE

Annihilation of the middle class

The *Reich congress of artisans*, which was held in Frankfurt on June 6—8, was by no means the pompous affair staged last year, when over a hundred thousand were summoned to this function. This year only seven thousand hand-picked officials of the Nazi artisans organisation were allowed to listen to the speakers, who made fine speeches but glossed over the true position of the German artisans. The fact that according to the report of the Berlin Chamber of Artisans *for thousand small Businesses of this order went bankrupt in Berlin alone in the past year*, throws a sinister light on the situation of this broad section of the middle class. Tens of thousands of ruined master craftsmen have during the past few years been turned into wage-earning industrial workers.

But even the surviving businesses are struggling with the greatest difficulties. An inspection of 17,000 workshops (about one per cent. of the total number) showed that only half was well provided with orders. In 1928 the turnover of the German artisans amounted to 19 milliard marks; today the Nazi press puts it at 13 milliards, while heavy industry has long surpassed the 1928 figures.

The annihilation of the middle class, whose preservation was a major issue in the original programmes of the Nazis, bringing them a tremendous influx from the lower middle class, is reflected in the figures relating to the development of German *joint stock companies*. Between the end of 1927 and the end of 1935 the number of such companies with a capital up to 5,000 marks declined from 604 to 118, the number of those with a capital up to 50,000 marks from 1,635 to 625, and even the companies of the next order (up to 500,000 marks capital) declined by 1,500. This downward tendency was given a decisive impulse after the advent of Hitler. Between December, 1934, and December, 1935, a further 778 companies disappeared leaving only at 7,840. The liquidated companies practically all possessed a capital of less than half a million marks. The small number of companies with a capital of more than one million marks, which have disappeared, have neither gone bankrupt nor been dissolved by official action, but have been merged with some other enterprise. We are thus witnessing a *progressive concentration of capital* at the expense of the middle class.

The financial oligarchy of the Third Reich has seldom been so clearly and bitterly characterised as in that letter (which the "Voelkischer Beobachter" of June 7 tried vainly to be little in several columns), which runs as follows:-

> "Never was capital mightier and more favoured than it is to-day. The big industrial concerns have an absolute taxation privilege here, in contrast to the creative population. That alone is a typical capitalistic conception. Industry is able to amass huge profits and reserves, while the worker is put off with excuse until a whole series of preliminary condition are fulfilled. "The big man profits, and the little man is given drafts to draw on the future. If that is not capitalism, then I should like to know what it is.
>
> "One only needs to look at the

balance sheets, to see what has been written off, to see the credits in the banks, and the securities held. A certain circle of interests is drawing enormous profits at the expense of the rest of the population. Formerly all this was simply termed 'unvarnished capitalist exploitation."

How correct the anonymous writer of this letter is. How true it is that monopolistic capital guides the destinies of Germany and how clear it is that the Nazi leaders read the lips of the financial kings for their every wish is shown by other instances.

In the famous aircraft factory of *Junkers* the labour trustee has decided that all wage rates and bonuses laid down in the existing wage agreement shall lose their validity. New shop rules were drafted without consulting the staff, and put into effect immediately. These rules prescribe that only "unimpeachable Aryan persons from a "healthy stock" can be employed by the factory. In order to comply with this rule every worker must undergo an examination of his physical condition and suitability for his work. Those who have become weak or have lost their health through malnutrition have no hope of retaining their jobs under this rule.

As for wages, no mention was made of them in the 135 lines which the "Voelkischet Beobachter" devoted to the new shop rules at Junkers. But as these rules abolish the old wage agreements and give the management unrestricted power in the factory in respect of wages of everything else, a serious decline in wages must result. "That it is the new orders that actually have brought about a catastrophic fall of wages, is to be seen in the fact that since their inception, workers who have been ordered start work at the Junkers works have been offered a weekly wage of 15 marks."

The picture is completed by the reports reaching us from the "Liberated" This time the victims are workers of Munchen-Gladbach and Rheyd on the left bank of Rhine. Nor will they be the last. The fascist dictators openly admit that they are putting off their plans of further bloody repression until the Olympic Games are over. Dr. *Thierack*, the new president of the People's Court (who took his seat in the uniform of a storm Troop leader), announced that the People's Court was destined to remain the Supreme Court of Germany and that the Reichsgericht would disappear in the near future. The reason is obvious. The Judges of the Reichsgericht were certainly reactionary enough and made no bones about their anti-Communist bias ; but they are of the old school of lawyers and still adhere to the formula; no punishment without a law and without a crime.

That is no good enough in Nazi eyes. The People's Court which sent *Richard Hutting* to the block without a shred of proof, who meted out the same fate to *Rudolf Claus*, admitting that it was to punish him for his opinions, not for his acts—such a court needs other judges, such as Ohieracks and Jorns, who come to court in storm Trooper uniform. Thierack said in his address; "The People's Courts should not judge with bandaged eyes like the goddess of justice, but with eyes wide open."

Truly the goddess of justice has no place in a court whose sentences are dictated by the hate the judges bear against the persecuted men of the people who dare to face them with their heads erect.

Sixty-Seven Million People One Hundred and Eighty Millionaires.

Germany to-day has a population of 67 millions—Germany to-day has 180 millionaires. The whole German people belongs to these 180 parasites—any amount of chatter and talk about "People's Community" cannot alter that fact in the slightest degree.

These 180 are the people who have laid hands on the whole of the wealth of the country. They are the people in whose interests Germany is being driven into a mad scramble for armaments to-day. And it is their interests that Hitler fascism is to try to turn the whole of Europe into a shamble.

On May 1, Hitler spoke the following memorable words in the Lustgarten:—

> "I believe that it is only possible to fill great people with a sense of living worthy of itself, if one gives it great tasks to fulfil. The men who thousands of years ago, set a people the task of building Pyramids, knew what they were about. And if we to-day set mighty communal tasks, we also know what we are doing..."

Nobody doubts for a moment that they know not for whom they are doing what they are—it is for the 180 millionaries. But the latter are not giving the six people Pyramids to build. They are occupied with much more important matters—they are concerned with the building up of mighty industrial concerns.

Recently the Lothringen Colliery Company was amalgamated with the GrafSchwerin works, Borsig's joined with Rheinmetall, and Hammerson, Cotton concern with Christian Deivig. The mills of Ettlingen merged with Hacker's. The new Westdeutsche was formed by the amalgamation of the works of Gustav Talbot Uordingen and Dusseldrof. A pooling of interests was achieved between the Douts-motors and the Magirus machine factory. The Rheydt cable works brought up the Deutschen Kabelworke.

It will be seen that the 180 multimillionaires are very active indeed.

The Salamander Shoe Manufactory absorbed J. Mayor & Co.'s leather factory in Offenbach. The "Gesfurel" took over the Hirsch Cooper and Brass Works. The Electric Light and Power Installation Co., which belongs to the Siemen's concern, bought a controlling interest in the Dr. Cassierer & Co., Cable Factory, of Charlottenburg, and the Heliowatt Radio Factory.

The firm of Honkol, which produces the well-known "Persil," has taken over a textile factory, a machinery factory and several other concerns within the last few months. The flick concern is buying up the shares of several different works. According to the "unalterable" programme of the National Socialist Party, the trusts were to have been "Socialised." But the Hitler fascists profer not to think about this point nowadays.

Why then are these feverish amalgamations, these precipitate and gigantic mergings of the big German industries taking place? It is certain that considerations of taxes and the "flight to material values" play a great part in these enormous transactions. THE CONTINUOUS CONCENTRATION OF GERMAN INDUSTRY IS MOST CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH THE HEADLONG AND SWIFT PREPARATIONS OF WAR BY GERMAN FASCISM. Since Hitler came to power, the German General Staff has devoted increased attention to economics.

A new conception has arisen, that of the "ECONOMICS OF DEFENCE," which is the subject of special investigation. Major Doctor KURT HESSE brought together a number of colleagues who together founded and pursued their investigations into the "science of defence economics." The military circles in Germany are studying the grounds for the German defeat in the war of 1914-18, with the greatest care. The economy of the country is to be so guided and controlled that "it shall, at the same time as fulfilling its tasks in time of peace, also be prepared and ready as a part of the defence of the State at any time", as Captain Doctor OTTO CORPES, the Oberrogierungsrot in the Institute for the Investigation of War and Army History, writes

in his work on the "FUNDAMENTALS OF THE SCIENCE OF DEFENCE ECONOMICS."

THE WAR PREPARATIONS ARE BEING SUPPLEMENTED BY THE ECONOMIC PREPARATIONS. The stronger welding together of undertakings in enormous monster concerns is being accomplished in the process of transforming the whole of the economy of the country along the lines of war preparations. It is, of course, of the greatest importance for the purpose of the maintenance and provisioning of the army and the country behind the lines, not to be dependent on individual undertakings or on scattered works and factories, but to be supported by concentrated modern "Pyramids."

This desire of the military circles is identical with that of the Coal, Iron and Steel, magnates. The 180 spoilers of Germany simply swallow the weaker concern, pocket immense profits, and build up Kingdoms for themselves. They are indeed profiting by the "fulfilment of their tasks in time of peace," they are profiting by the preparations, and when the world war begins to-morrow they will acquire a still more enormous amount of plunder unless the masses see to it speedily that the "criminal hands of the war mongers are enchained" as Dimitrov said.

A people of 67 millions has been surrendered to 180 multi-millionaries. For those 180 extortioners Hitler is compelling the workers to construct motor roads under conditions of absolute slavery. Contrary to his usual custom, Goebbles once happened to speak the truth, as an exception, when he formally opened the section of the road in the Cologne-Dusseldorf industrial region to traffic, by declaring: "The workers on the motor roads must certainly give up many things which go to make life pleasant"

One can easily imagine just how much the workers have been oppressed if Goebbles was constrained to refer to them in this manner. In the interests of these 180 super-profiteers, the Hitler Line is being feverishly worked on in the Rhineland, and, according to British authorities, this is due to be finished by the end of October or the beginning of November.

This Hitler Line, which is created in opposition to the Maginet Line, has comparatively speaking few forts, but has, however, a monster system of rainforsed trenches and bomb-proof dug-outs, supported by innumerable machine-gun posts. An underground railway system has been commenced. The cement factories show best to what degree the work of fortification is progressing. The Cement output, according to the reports of the Germen cement industry, is three times as big as it was in 1934, and 65 per cent, more than in 1935. It amounted to 2 millions tons in the first quarter of 1936.

The consumption of aluminium is just as enormous. Schacht's organ "DFR DEUTSCHE VOLKWINT" No, 98, announce that:

"Last year's figure of consumption of 93,000 tons absolutely the largest yearly figure for the consumption of aluminium that has been known in any country. During 1935 quite 35 per cent of the world consumption of aluminium took place in Germany."

The Hitler fascists can set the world in flames any day at the command of the 180 peace and war-time profiteers. Records of bloodshed are to follow the records of cement and aluminium consumption. IN ORDER TO PRESERVE PEACE THE UNITY OF ALL WORKERS, ALL FRIENDS OF PEACE, ALL PEOPLES WHO DESIRE PEACE, MUST BE ESTABLISHED AGAINST THE 180 FAMILIES AND THEIR HITLER FASCISTS.

STRENGTHENING THE LEAGUE COVENANT

Stirring Speech by M. M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., at the League Assembly.

I must admit at the very outset that the summing up of the work of the League for a year does not inspire the Soviet delegation with happy thoughts. This is due in part to the fact that the Soviet delegation appraises the work of the League from the point of view of the quality of the questions solved rather than their quantity, and determines this quality by the role which these questions have played in the problem of the organisation of the consolidation of peace, which is the basic function of the League of Nations.

Among the 80 questions mentioned in the annual report of the Secretary-General we find only three bearing on the problem of peace, namely, the Italo-Abyssinian, the Locarno and the Danzig questions.

None of us can recall the solution of the Abyssinian question without bitterness, the more so since it continues tiresomely to remind us of itself. The Locarno question was subjected at the April session of the Council to an abortive discussion, was placed on the agenda and adjourned from one session of the Council to another, and stands on the agenda of the present session of the Council, probably also in order to be adjourned and later written off as a bad debt. The same can probably be said about the Danzig question. It is indeed, a meagre balance sheet.

Turning to the agenda of the present session of the Assembly, we find in it only one question in the category of interest to us, and so far it has been referred to the Bureau for a solution of its further fate. I am referring to the application of the principles of the League Covenant. We believe that only a discussion of this question could fill the present session of the Assembly with substantial content. I shall take the liberty of disagreeing with the considerations of certain governments., expressed in the summary of materials of the League Secretariat, to the effect that the work of interpretation and application of the Covenant must be postponed until the political atmosphere is cleared of the present alarms and unrest. I shall take the liberty of thinking that it is precisely the existence of this unrest which is the strongest argument in favour of the timeliness of a discussion of this question. The unrest has been provoked precisely by the proximity of the danger. Must we wait with it until the danger becomes a reality? On the other hand, I would regard any belief in the early clearing of the political atmosphere as absolutely unjustified optimism. Must the League of Nations forever be a "waiting room"?

Question Forced Upon Us

Permit me to remind you, gentlemen, that the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant did not arise academically, but was brought to life, forced upon us, both by the unhappy issue of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict and by the entire development of political events in recent years.

This development of events has not altered its ominous course, which, as all of us not only assume but know, even feel, points to such a bloody clash

of the people that its consequences stagger our imagination.

It is now four years since the idea of peace, of the inviolability of treaties and of international order on the one hand, and the ideas of war, of contempt for international obligations and of the forcible redivision of the world have been more or less clearly crystallised and opposed to each other. But while on the one side, the ideas are being organised and clothed in flesh and blood, or, to put it more correctly, in iron and lead, the forces of the other side remain, unfortunately, shapeless, disunited and passive.

What is the present distribution of international forces?

Neutrality Not Enough

I have not the slightest doubt that even the most politically inexperienced reader of the newspapers knows which and how many are the countries whose aggressiveness makes them dangerous, if he is familiar only with the speeches and writings of the rulers of those countries. There are also a few countries which are prepared to seek salvation in neutrality. If they really believe that it is sufficient for them to write the word "neutrality" on their frontiers in order that the flame of conflagration stop at their frontier, if they have forgotten the recent lessons of history on the violation even of internationally recognised neutralities, then it is their own affair. We are entitled, however, to ask them to make their neutralities a reality to-day, while plans of aggression are being prepared by some and plans of self-defence by others. Unfortunately, even now, they are frequently placing their neutrality at the service of the aggressive forces.

Side by side with these would be neutral countries, there is a considerable number of countries—including the most powerful—which undoubtedly see the cloud advancing upon Europe, appreciate its sinister nature, sense the inevitable danger to themselves, and seem to recognise the necessity of a joint defence, proclaiming again and again their adherence to the principle of collective security. Unfortunately, so far they have not gone beyond such statements and have done nothing to clothe the idea of collective security in proper shape and give it real power, in the vain hope that, perhaps, the aggressor, heeding their exhortations, will come to his senses and help them to keep him from aggression.

But the aggressor who builds his whole policy on the superiority of sheer material force, who has in the arsenal of his diplomacy nothing but menacing demands, bluffs or threats and the policy of *faits accomplis*, can only hear the voice of a similarly firm policy, can heed only the relationship of forces. Any exhortations and pleadings with him, and, the more so, concessions to his unlawful, and senseless demands, attempts to bribe him economically, only produce upon him the impression of weakness, strengthen the sense of his own power and encourage him to further irreconcilability and lawless actions. Even outside, a legend of the invincibility of the aggressor is created, which produces fatalistic and capitulating sentiments in certain countries, which gradually, sometimes even imperceptibly to themselves, begin to lose their independence and develop into vassals of the aggsessor. Thus begins the process of the formation of a hegemony which must culminate in the military crushing of all countries which do not submit voluntarily.

Yes, gentlemen we must not close our eyes to the existing tendencies towards a hegemony, towards a hegemony of a "chosen people", allegedly destined by history to dominate all other peoples who are proclaimed to be of inferior blood. I shall not speak of the ideological consequences of such a hegemony, of the violent destruction of all spiritual and cultural values of which humanity has been proud for the last few centuries, and of the artificial re

vival of idea of the worst times of medievalism. Yet the aggregate power of the peace-loving countries both in an economic and military respect, their aggregate resources in man power and in war industry are far superior to the forces of any possible combination of countries which might be grouped around the aggressor.

I am deeply convinced that it would be enough for these forces to unite in any measure, to display merely the possibility of joint action, in order not only to avert the danger of war but to force the aggressor to ask sooner or later for his own inclusion in the joint system of collective security.

New Blocs Not Necessary

I consider it necessary here to justify myself against the possible accusation that I am appealing for blocs, for I know that to certain super-pacifists the word "bloc" has become a bugbear. No, I do not demand new blocs. I am prepared to be content with the existing bloc of the League of Nations, a bloc of peaceable countries which have united for purposes of mutual defence and mutual aid. We only demand that this bloc really organise mutual assistance, that it draw up in time a plan of action so as not to be caught unawares, so that the organisation of war taking place outside this bloc might be countered by actions for the organisation of resistance. And if not all the countries forming the present bloc of the League of Nations are prepared to do this, if there are among them some for whom security is embodied in the word "neutrality," or who hope at the last moment to desert to the aggressor, this does not deprive those who want and who can defend themselves and who do not want to be subjected to aggression each in his turn, of the right of joint action.

In reply to the recommendation of the last Assembly and to the invitation of the League Secretary-General, the Soviet Government has submitted its views on how it conceives making the League Covenant more precise and improving it. The central place in its proposals is given to the idea of regional and, if necessary, bilateral pacts of mutual assistance. We have in mind regions of different geographical size and delineation, going as far as complete continents, as the larger the region affected by the pact, the greater are the guarantees of security created. We do not yet know how many such regional pacts will be concluded and what will be their field of application. At the present stage the essential thing is to define their place in the general system of collective security of the League of Nations, to fix the interdependence of the different pacts, and it will be necessary to see to the security of those countries which may not for some reason be covered by any of these pacts.

I shall not deal here either with this or with the other Soviet proposals, reserving this until the question is discussed in the proper commission. There we shall state our views also regarding the proposals made by other Governments.

Apart from the proposals sent by the governments in writing, certain proposals have been made here orally. I consider it necessary to say a few words about them.

Unanimity

The Soviet delegation does not underestimate the importance of Articles II of the League Covenant, which aims at the prevention of possible military Conflicts by means of canciliation. Much can be said in favour of the repeal of unanimity in some cases of this kind. Caution is necessary, however, so as not to open in this way the floodgates through which various possible petty claims which have no relation to the preservation of peace might rush into the League Council. We know from experience that only unanimity has so far served as a dam against them. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the procedure under Article II

can produce results only if the threat of a violation of peace is a result of an unexpected and accidental dispute, the elimination of which will restore the old situation. Article 11 will not be able, however, to prevent a violation of peace rooted in purposeful aggressiveness and the pursuit of expansionist aims for the sake of which disputes are deliberately provoked. The League of Nations has already had occasion to deal with such cases, when Article II proved to be totally powerless. In any event, the recommendations of the Council on Article 11 will be effective only if these recommendations are backed by a well-armed Article 16. We consider it, therefore, much more important to establish unanimity on this latter Article.

Some of the speakers here have placed hope also in the strengthening of the League activity within the framework of Article 19. dealing with the revision of international treaties. Such a revision is possible and expedient, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, only if all the parties concerned agree to it. A splendid example of this is the recent revision of the Straits Convention which succeeded precisely because the question was raised with the preliminary consent of the signatories to the convention. Without such consent, the raising of the question of a rivision for which even the previous speakers recognise unanimity to be necessary, not only will not yield positive results, but will only further strain the relations between the parties concerned and further burden the international situation. There are practically no countries which are absolutely satisfied with existing international treaties concluded in the recent or more distant past, and hardly anything good can be expected from the leading of the League with such claims. It is not to be feared that the moral support of any claim even by a minority of the Assembly would prompt the aggressor to violate the treaty by forcible means?

Faith in Disarmament

It is not for the Soviet delegation, of course, to object to the French proposal to convene the Bureau of the disarmament Conference. The Soviet Government has always believed and continues to believe that the most effective guarantee of peace is disarmament particularly full and universal disarmament, which given good will, could be realised more easily than partial disarmament. This is where it is really necessary to make universality—and not on a European scale alone—a necessary condition of any disarmament measure. I refrain, however, from expressing an opinion on the question of the extent to which such universality is possible at present.

The situation appears in quite a different aspect when we speak of universality in connection with an improvement of the League Covenant. In principle, we are absolutely for universality. We wish nothing better than the speediest inclusion in the League of all States, without exception, but in a League giving all its members genuine guarantees of security, a League based on mutual assistance, a League recognising the equality of nations. If, however, it means that prior to the realisation of such universality we shall do nothing to improve the Covenant, if we are again to be invited into a "waiting room," then I cannot agree to this.

I would object even more resolutely against the League eliminating from the Covenant in the name of universality everything that makes it into an instrument of peace and a threat to the aggressor, against, as I stated at the last session of the Assembly, an attempt to make the League safe for the aggressor. Of course, any State which openly oppose international obligations by the power of the sword, which does not disguise its contempt for such obligations and which cynically calls upon other States to treat their signatures to such documents with contempt, with the aim of the final destruction of inter-

national good faith, cannot be comfortable in a League of Nations which makes one of its basic objects "the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another.

New Convention Signed

A State governed by people who have included the conquest of other people's lands in their programme of foreign policy, who on festival occasion before their own people and before representatives of other States enumerate the huge territories which they intend forcibly to alienate from other countries, cannot sincerely subscribe to Article 10 of the League's statutes, which secures to all members of the League territorial inviolability and political independence. A State which advocates the legality of so-called localised wars cannot accept Article 16 which declares that resorting to war against one member of the League implies the commitment of an act of war against all the remaining members of the League, and which prescribes a graduated system of sanctions against the aggressor.

The other day in Geneva, under the aegis of the League of Nations, a convention was signed forbidding even an appeal by radio for the disturbance of internal peace in other States. Can such a convention be sincerely joined by a State which, as has been demonstrated, maintains in all countries intelligence service and agencies made up of its own sujects who actively intervene in the life of those countries, who incite political parties against each other? Nay, even more, who organise and finance insurrections and openly render millitary aid to insurgents? Is the principle of equality of nations, which is the foundation of the League, compatible with the ideology of a State that is built upon racial and national inequailty and which characterises all nations except their own as "subhumanity?" I ask the adherents of "universality at all costs" whether we should sacrifice all the basic principles of the League in order to adapt it to the theory and practice of such a State. or should we rather suggest to the State to adopt itself to the existing ideology of the League? To this I reply that I prefer the League without universality to universality without the principles of the League.

Immediate Action

The Soviet delegation persists in its proposal that the point of the agenda dealing with the application of the principles of the Covenant shall be immediately submitted for elaboration to the first committee without waiting for the advent of universality. Should this committee fail to cope with this work during the present session of the assembly, the continuation of this work must be entrusted to a special commission which should work out as speedily as possible concrete and coordinated proposals, so that it might be possible to convene an extraordinary session of the assembly at an early date for the final adoption of the proposals.

While the theoretical work goes on, those members of the League who intend to participate in any regional, and whenever possible, also in bilateral pacts of mutual assistance will enter into diplomatic negotiations among themselves for the attainment of this purpose.

I maintain that the more intensely and successfully this work is carried out, the easier it will be to come to an understanding even with the aggressive countries and to achieve the desired universality.

We by no means object to attempts at understandings even with the aggressive countries; on the contrary, we deem it necessary to invite them to participate in any international arrangement. But we do object to their dictating the terms of the negotiations or paying premiums to them for consenting to carry on the negotiations. We believe it to be abnormal when such

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beginnings are arrested or frustrated because they either refuse or deliberately procrastinate in their reply. We believe that attempts at reaching universal agreements may be made by means of convening a peace conference or a pan-European commission. Either of these organisations, not being bound up with the past and so far free from any pacts, represents in itself the more convenient place for the preliminary discussion of any question, whether political, including that of disarmament, or economic. If any States refuse to take part in such organisations, it will then become clear to everybody that we are not following the same road as they, that we must finally organise peace and international order without them.

The Elusive Bluebird

Gentlemen, I have outlined before you that policy and those measures which, if carried out both within the League of Nations and without, may indeed shift the cause of peace organisation from the stagnation point. They possess the advantage of implying immediate action, in contradistinction to the policy now carried out, the policy of the "waiting room," of speculating on the moods of the forces that are hostile to peace, of centring all hopes on some definite conference which ever hovers a little way ahead, like the elusive bluebird—to the policy which leads to fatalism and to capitulation before the aggressor. We are convinced that actions, and by no means inactivity, can discharge the strained international atmosphere and prevent a catastrophe.

The Soviet Government itself avoids and will not recommend to anyone any steps which might in any way at all increase the risk of war or bring it nearer, irrespective of whether it means a war at its own borders or in more distant localities. The Soviet Government has given a good many proofs of its desire for peace, not only in words but in deeds, in the face of numerous provocations and insults. Relying upon its huge external and internal strength and proud of its achievements, it does not respond to such insults by the traditional methods, not only because it detests and loathes the sources of these insults, but chiefly because it desires to leave to others and not take upon itself the responsibility for the consequences of the violation of the elementary rules of intercourse between nations.

Recognising the right of every nation to choose for itself any political and social order, the Soviet Government does not discriminate between States according to their internal regime. Although believing National Socialism and racialism to be the deadly foes of all the toilers and of civilisation itself, the Soviet Government not only has never preached a crusade against those countries in which this theory predominates but has endeavoured to maintain with them the same normal diplomatic and economic relations as with other countries. The Soviet Government did not increase its army, its armaments, its aviation in order to combat the germs of these doctrines or to protect in frontiers against them.

The Soviet Government has joined the declaration of non-intervention in the affairs of Spain for the sole reason that a friendly country feared international conflict in the opposite event. It has acted so in spite of the fact that it holds the principle of neutrality to be inapplicable to the struggle of insurgents against their lawful government and contradictory to the principles of international law, fully agreeing in this matter with the declaration made here by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs. It realises that the said unjust decision was imposed on others by those countries which, believing themselves to be the bulwark of order, have established a new position fraught with incalculable consequences, whereby it is permissible openly to assist the in-

surgents against their lawful government.

Proposals Dictated by Peace

All these fresh proofs of the desire of the Soviet Government for peace, possessing as it does ample means of self-defence, should convince you, gentlemen, that the proposals made to you by the Soviet delegation are dictated by the desire to secure peace, not only on the borders of its own country but also of other countries, to create conditions of security for all nations by a sincere desire to restore in all countries the feeling of self-confidence and of confidence in the eventual aid of others, and to revive faith in the ideal of international solidarity and justice.

Birds of the same feather flock together!

A man is known by the company he keeps!

These two proverbs are very common, but many do not realise the full value of these golden sayings. If you want to join the army of people who encourage their own countries' manufactures and do justice to the above proverbs, then you should not fail to visit, the big exhibition of Swadeshi Goods at

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THE REVIVAL OF PERSIA

The following is an interesting account given by Mr. Hampden Jackson in his book, "The Post War World."

Persia was never part of the Ottoman Empire like the other Islamic States which we have been discusssing, but its fortunes are so closely connected with theirs and its history so closely resembles that of Turkey that it seems proper to tell its story here.

At the beginning of this ceutury Persia had fallen a prey to British and Russian imperialism. In 1907 an agreement was signed by which Great Britain took control of the southern half of the country and Russia of the northern. The fall of the Tsar in 1917 meant the withdrawal of Russia's claims and opened up a glorious prospect to Britain's Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon. He dreamed of extending British control from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian and adding a magnificent frontier province to British India. British forces drove the Turks back over their borders in 1918 and garrisoned the strong places of Persia, and the Shah had no alternative but to sign, in 1919, an agreement by which Persia came under the military and political control of Great Britain.

The Coup of Riza Khan.

The dream was rudely shattered. The Bolsheviks overran the province of Gilan in North Persia, established a Soviet Republic there in 1920 and went on to invade the fertile plains of Mazanderan. There was among the defeated Persian Cossacks a young officer who had been bred on a farm in Mazanderan and who felt keenly the approaching dissolution of his country. In 1921 he rode into Teheran—an unknown trooper with only three thousand men behind him—arrested the most prominent official, forced the Shah to nominate him Commander-in-Chief and Minister of War and made himself military dictator of Persia. The British agreement was repudiated and the Soviet Republic of Gilan was dissolved.

The trooper's name was Riza Khan. For years he had served in the Persian Cossack division which had been administered and officered by the Tsarist Army; he had no organization or influence to support him; established himself by the force of his personality and by his infectious faith in Persian nationalism. In October 1923 he became Prime Minister of Persia and Shah left on a "visit" to Europe. Almost on the same day another soldier was proclaiming himself first President of the Turkish Republic. Riza Khan was tempted to take the same course, to establish a Republic in Persia, but the weight of religious opinion was too strong to allow him to follow the example of the impious Turks, and Persia remained an Empire without an Emperor until 1925 when the Constituent Assembly made Riza Khan the Shah. He chose the title of Shah Riza *Pahlavi*, a word which means *Parthian* in old Persian.

His crown was richly deserved. In the four years since his *coup d'etat* he had restored law and order to Persia; the feudal chieftains had been forced one by one to capitulate, the British had withdrawn their officers from the South Persian Rifles, and even Sheik Keisal, who had enjoyed a partial independence of Persia under Britis protection, thanks to the importance h

his lands on the Shatt-el-Arab to the Anglo-Persian Oil Comyany, has surrendered to the new Government of Teheran.

Persia's New Independence.

Persia had won her independence but independence in the modern world can be retained only by modern methods. Riza Khan's great problem was how to introduce that measure of Western technique which was necessary to the defence of Persia without giving the control to Western experts who would bring Western political ambitions in their train. He could not rely on Persians to carry out a movement of modernization for themselves; the Persians are laziest and most undisciplined people in the world; nearly a quarter of them were still leading the nomad life, there was no *elite* to Western-educated intellectuals as there was in Turkey. Riza Khan had perforce to hand over much of the administrative business to foreigners from the West. The finances were put under the control of Americans headed by Dr.Millspaugh, the Customs, under Belgians, some of the educational work under Frenchmen. So for Riza Khan was running no risk for France, Belgium and the United States had no political irons in the Persian fire. It was in dealing with Russians and Englishmen that he had to be careful. The Transcaucasian and Transcaspian Republics were now part of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviets were pressing for communications from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf. The British controlled the Anglo-Persian Oil Company which employed twenty thousand Persians and ran a pipe-line from Ramuz to the island of Abadan where they were building an immense refinery and port; what is more the British were pressing for a railway from Baghdad to Teheran and for an air route from Persia to India.

Persia had the direst need for improved means of communication: "On account of transport difficulties," wrote Dr. Eillspaugh in 1924, "surplus wheat and barley may be rotting in the fields of one part of Persia while six hundred miles away the population may be suffering from a bread famine." At the same time it was essential that the new routes should not be under foreign control. Very skilfully the new Shah played the British off against the Russians. He vetoed the plan for a Baghdad-to-Teheran railway but allowed a road to be built instead and granted Imperial Airways the right of building air-stations for their Cairo-to-Karachi route on condition that the aerodromes should become Persian property. At the same time he allowed the Soviets to run an air-service from Moscow to Teheran and promised to lay a railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. For this railway he chose a northern terminus which was well outside Russia's sphere of control on the Caspian and a southern terminus equally well outside British control on the Persian Gulf. The obvious southern terminus was Mohamarah on the Shatt-el-Arab but this was far too near to Iraq. The station was built instead at Khor Masa a deserted inlet of the Persian Gulf, and in 1930 His Majesty himself opened the southern part of the line—not without difficulties if we are to believe the report in *The Times* that the royal train "was twice derailed and finally the engine caught fire." Riza Khan played a dangerous game successfully; he gave Persia a skeleton system of transport and communication at the partial expense of Great Britain and the U. S. S. R. without sacrificing political independence to either.

To achieve economic independence was a more difficult matter. Comparatively speaking, the economic position of Persia is not bad. "The standard of living is markedly higher than the average in India, and lower than in Western Europe. The Persian peasant eats unleavened wheatmeal bread and supplements it fairly frequently with cheese, mutton, rice, fowls or eggs.

The very poorest villagers eat bread made of barley or even millet or acorns. Sugar and tea are expensive but astonishing quantities are consumed. The Persian digestive system thrives on healthy lubrication with animal fats. Fruit in season is plentiful and good. The people are usually well clad and there is little destitution....With Persians the extremes of poverty and wealth are not so far apart as in industrially organised Europe. The general standard is simple but sufficient." *Yet Persia is not self-supporting; almost all her cotton cloth, sugar and machinary comes from abroad. The Shah has been able to do nothing to make his country independent in the last two respects though he has done something to check the importation of the first—much the largest item on the import list—by setting up cotton factories in five of the largest towns. To balance her imports Persia exports oil, carpets, fruit and opium. For her oil market she is dependent on Great Britain. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company pays royalties which make up nearly a quarter of the Persian budget but it is not a satisfactory form of revenue and it is galling to Persian opinion to know that the Company divides among the foreign shareholders more than two million pounds of profit every year. For her carpet and fruit market Persia is dependent on foreign nations' tariff systems, and especially on the goodwill of Soviet Russia. And the market for opium is at the mercy of international opinion on the moral value of that article: the League of Nations suggested that Persia should substitute other crops for the poppy and Riza Khan replied that he was only too willing to restrict poppy-growing if fellow-members of the League would reduce their tariffs on other products of Persia; and there the negotiations broke down.

No one would deny Riza Khan respect for his handling of the internal situation in Persia. Before 1921 the Shah's Government was not obeyed beyond the town-moat of Teheran; today his word is law in every province. Order in that huge country—its twelve million people are scattered over territories three times as large as France—has not been won by persuasion; the Parliament is as impotent as the Turkish Parliament under Mustapha Kemal and the Italian Parliament under Mussolini: Persia is ruled by the army, a finely trained force with a peace-strength of over 70,000. At first the *Ulema* opposed the edict of conscription which Riza Khan judged necessary; it was contrary, they said, to Koranic law. The Shah treated them with the utmost respect, invited them to Teheran and gave their leaders seats in his Cabinet; and the *Ulma* thought fit to reconsider their interpretation of the Law.

The best soldiers of Persia come from the nomad tribes. Riza Khan's difficulty has been to find a way of preserving their military virility and at the same time of ending the habits of raiding and anarchy which the nomadic life is apt to engender. He has found a solution by encouraging the tribes to confine the care of the wandering flocks to a few families and to settle the remaining families as cultivators in agricultural districts. At the same time he has surrounded the tribal lands by a class of peasant proprietors whom he has subsidized by liberal grants.

There is an obvious superficial parallel between the post-war history of Turkey and of Persia: in both countries there has been a national revival under a soldier who has made himself Dictator, in both the foreign Capitulations have been abolished, in both a degree of Western technique has been introduced, in both there is an acute distrust of foreigners, Persia going as far as to pass in 1933 a decree forbidding State officials and officers of high rank to associate with European women or to attend receptions given by for-

* A. T. Wilson in Persia.

eigners. But we must not let the similarities blind us to the differences, which are as great as that between the unbalanced upstart violence of Mustapha Kemal and the monumental handsome dignity of Riza Khan. The Turkish revolution has been that of a race establishing itself as a nation for the first time, the Persian revolution that of a very old nation comprising many races turning to secure its national autonomy. Under the necessity of ridding themselves at once of old shackles the Turks have torn off much of their living flesh, doing violence to their own traditional culture. The Persians have had no need of such violence; they abolished the Religious Courts, it is true, but they preserved the Islamic law of marriage and divorce; their culture lies immeasurably deeper than the Turks' and the Shiah rite of Islam was established in Persia when the Turks were still savage nomads in the Gobi desert.

"CONGRESS AND ITS ENEMIES"

(A. Madhava Menon)

Under the above caption Sjt. S. Satyamurthi delivered a speech in Bombay quite recently. He warned many who were the enemies of the Indian National Congress and among them he mentioned "those who advocated socialism" as a cure for India's ills. It seems he quoted profusely from the recent speeches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This reminds me of people, who are in essence loyalists and real enemies of Indian Independence quoting the great actors of the drama of India's Struggle for Freedom. And it is my view that Mr. Satyamurthi's statement that socialists are enemies of the Congress should not go unchallenged.

It will not be enough to examine Mr. Satyamurthi's speech from one point of view. Read this speech, in which itself he carries on a propaganda for the granting of Dominion Status to India, along with his *Anamalai* speech and one thoroughly understands that Mr. Satyamurthi himself is an enemy of the Congress in that he does not fully believe in the Congress ideal of Purna Swaraj,—Complete Independence.

He tries to defend a section of the Indian Princes, who, he says, are moving with the times and are supporters of India's aspirations for Independence. Whatever he may have to say for those princes, the whole lot of them and the keepers of the vested interests in the country are the real enemies of India's ideal of Purna Swaraj. And people like Satyamurthi, who want to bargain with and for them are none the better.

Now I shall examine my statement. I do not want to say blankly that they are enemies. I shall say why. They are the enemies of India's aspirations, for a shaking of British Imperialism in India will, it is sure, be followed by a violent overthrow of the capitalist interests in the country and the keeper

of the vested interests are well aware of this. Hence, their interests are very closely allied with the interests of British Imperialism and they will, no way, allow the shade of Britain to vanish, exposing them to the vigours of a prolet rian revolution. What they really want is not freedom for India in the place of the present bureaucracy, but a replacement of the present system with brown bureaucracy. Hence, they are the enemies of Indian nationalism and the Congress ideal of Purna Swaraj, in which power will rest with the Masses of India.

With regard to the allegation that socialists are enemins of the Congress, we can very well say that the socialists are opposed to the tactics and manoeuring of the present rightwing Congress leadership. They are opposed to the present conciliation with the reactionary elements in the Country, and they are opposed to the views of Mr. S. Satyamurthi on the problem of acceptance of office. The Socialists as a class believe and they are most sincere on that, as on any other point of their faith, that the tactics of the right wing congressmen with regard to the elections are most unwholesome and quite inconsistent with the accepted militant attitude of the Congress towards the New constitution which they are pledged to wreck.

The socialists believe that we are, as a nation, in a period of crisis, a period of transition, a period of evolution into a higher phase of National existence, not into the new constitution but to a more tense and more meaningful era of our National Struggle for freedom. That freedom is to be fought and won by the Indian people at large, for themselves, not for those, who want to parade as saviours of Indias' teeming millions. If to believe that Indian independence means the freedom of the masses, a Government in which the ordinary worker of India has a voice, the freedom for the lowliest and the lost to eat and live and to claim a right of existence in the country is inimical to the Congress ideals, then really the socialists plead guilty on Mr. Sathyamurthi's charge. Again, if to believe that the present structure of society in India, as in many other countries is not conducive to the interests of the masses, if to believe that the present policy of the Congress in side-tracking the nations's struggle by bringing in problems of secondary importance to first magnitude to be a stumbling block in the progress of Indian Struggle for liberation, if to believe that the problems of India can be solved by a socialist programme, if to strive for a more prosperous and better run of mankind, if to object to the present leadership of the Congress taking reactionary courses is opposed to the ideals of the Indian National Congress, Sir we plead guilty. Mr. Adventurer, please see that you speak sense, if you have any when you speak to the whole of the Indian Nation. It is not enough if you have a long tongue and a wide mouth a pair of strong lungs, you should have reasons and arguments with you, when you want to convince others.

It is not enough if you have learnt the advertiser's trick of quoting a sentence from an accepted leader, it is highly necessary you should be able to follow his footsteps to the very pedestal. "The Devil can cite scriptures", but the divinity still lies far off.

—

Book-Review.

A NEW PUBLICATION ON SOCIALISM

SAMAGWAD—(*Hindi*)

By Sampurnand

Babu Sampurnand has been a prominent Congress leader in U.P. but with the spread of socialism in India and his presidentships of several conferences including Bombay Presidency he has acquired the reputation through-out India of a socialist leader. Apart from his political work some of his contributions to Hindi literature are unique. In short he has a soldier's vigour and scholar's brain. And this combination is something rare in intelligentsia.

His friends call him an "Encyclopedia." And the fact that he is acquainted with almost all branches of knowledge in some way or other he deserved to be called so. Being a B. Sc. he knows science well. Having passed B. T. he knows the science of education. In his professions too variety is observed. In Bikanere College he was a professor of Mathametics. For some time he was an educational inspector. At Kashi-Vidyapith he used to teach Philosophy English and international law. Besides he was a journalist (Editor of two Hindi papers and one English Daily) Health Officer of Benares Municipality, Member of the Legislative Council and so on.

Till now our author has written about 20 books dealing with different subjects and introductions to several books. His most important contribution to Hindi is his exhaustive work on "International law". This is a subject on which I think no Indian Language has a book.

Nowadays in Indian Language Socialism has become the topic of the day. The literature that is appearing on the subject can be classified into three groups.

(1) Some contain second-hand matter from English books. (2) Some are written purely from an economic point of view (3) things that are not socialistic are bitterly attacked. And many times the criticism is not sympathetic.

Above all, to say anything about Hindu religion or anything concerning it requires up to date knowledge in sanskrit literature. And it was for this reason that Lok. Tilak was very much liked by Brahmins while Hon. Gokhale was not. One of the reasons why the budding socialists are criticised is that they are just modern people coming from oxford or cambridge and therefore their talks on ancient India carry no value.

But Sampurnandji or Acharya Narendra Deo are free from this sort of criticism as they are well-reputed scholars of sanskrit as well as Pali.

The book under consideration is quite free from the above-explained gaps.. Firstly the author is in a position to explain socialism in Indian terms without loosing the scientific accuracy of the subject. With the economic stand point the book gives us a philosophic view of the subject. Then, the main objections that are raised in India against socia[illegible] are very intelligently dealt with [illegible]hor. Some chapters the boo[illegible] translating into Englis[illegible]

THE WORK OF THE ANDHRA PEASANTS' MOVEMENT 1935-36

Report Submitted to the All India Kisan Committee

By Satyanarayana Murti
(General Secretary, Andhra Ryots. Association.)

This Association was founded by Messrs. M. B. Needu, Prof. N.G. Ranga in 1928 at Guntur when the first Andhra Provincial Ryots Conference was held under the Presidency of Mr. B. V. Ratnam, M.L.C. It was led by the people of all political parties till 1934 when the Justicites, in whose control the organisation has remained in 1931—1933 had found it impossible to stem the upsurge of radical elements among the Peasantry. Since 1934 it has come to play a very prominent role in the organised life of the Andhra Peasantry with Prof. Ranga and his devoted band of Peasant Workers at its head.

It was registered on the 11th June 1936 under the Act XXI of 1860 and its official headquarters are at Nidubrole, the seat of the Peasants Institute and Ranga's Peasants Library and Peasants Publication Company.

Peasant Marches and All India Kisan Day:—

It was under the auspices of this Association the 1935 Peasants March on the 22nd November and 7th December and the All India Kisan Day on the first of September 1936 were celebrated all over Andhra. In as many as 25 places were Peasants Marches organised in which many thousands had taken part. On the first All India Kisan Day, according to the information received by our Association, peasants conferences were held in a hundred villages of Guntur District and three hundred villages of the other eleven Andhra Districts. So far the Andhra Peasants celebration holds the first place in India.

May Day:—

In addition to getting celebrated all the National Days prescribed by the Indian National Congress, our Association has followed the leadership of the Peasants Protection Committee and observed the May Day in many villages of the Andhra; thus demonstrating its class consciousness and fraternity with the worlds' peasants and workers.

Famine Relief :—

Our Association has cooperated with the Peasants Protection Committee in organising in 1935, the Rayalaseema Famine Relief Committee which rendered invaluable assistance to five famine ridden Districts. We have carried on a raging and successful agitation for timely Governmental assistance. In 1935-36 we have taken the lead in organising Famine Relief Work and public agitation in Ganjam District and rendered great help to the suffering. As a result of our activities, remission of land revenue was secured; salt concessions extended, famine relief works opened Taccavi Loans distributed and cattle were supplied with cheap fodder.

Guntur and Kurnool Resettlements:—

The Special Settlement Officers have recommended an enhancement by 18¾% of the land revenue assessment

of Guntur and Kurnool Districts. The District Ryots Associations backed by our Association, had carried on a raging and effective agitation against the imposition of this unjust enhancement and the Government, in the end, had to bow before our agitation and suspend the imposition of the enhancement until after the inauguration of the Reforms.

Land Revenue Remissions:--

The Peasants Protection Committee's work all over the Province, demanding adequate Land Revenue Remissions was taken over in 1935 by our organisation and through innumerable Village, Taluk and District Ryots Conference, intensified by the peasants marches, we have succeeded in obliging the Madras Government in granting some remission, though not such, of land revenue (at one anna in the rupee for dry lands and 1½ as. for wet-lands) for 1935-36 also. It is in anticipation of our 1936 Marches and to rob the wind behind our sails (for our Marches are coming off on the 28th November) the Government has declared on the 28th October its readiness to grant some remission of land revenue.

Godavari-Kistna Resettlement Rates:—

It was the work of the Peasants Protection Committee, with the able assistance of the Resettlement Committee of which Messrs. D. N. Raju, M. B. Needu were the President and Secretary respectively, which forced Madras Government in 1931 to imprison nine of our peasants leaders and to apply the No Tax Ordinance to the Andhra. From 1933 till today, if the Madras Government has failed to collect the full 18¾% enhancement, which was imposed upon those three Districts in the teeth of a great public opposition, it is all because of the fast growing organised strength of our peasants. Hence this year's complete remission of 18¾% in the land revenue payable by those ryots.

Inamdari Legislation:—

It was in September 1933 that the Andhra Zamindari Ryots' Conference demanded the conferring of occupancy rights upon all the Inamdari ryots. The Bobbili Ministry wanted to pose as the champion of our peasants and so sponsored a bill to confer this right upon these much exploited peasants. But unfortunately the majority of Brahmin lawyers and publicists and politicians rose in rebellion against this bill; even the so-called Congress Press became either hostile or silent and our Congress leaders became strangely mute. But our Association, the Zamindary Ryots Association, P.P.C. and the South Indian Federation of Peasants have all not only supported the Bill but also demanded a wholesome lowering of the rents at least to the level of Government rates.

Debt Settlement Act:—

We have taken up the work of the P.P.C. in regard to its demand for protection for the indebted peasants and we have organised, thanks to the energetic and excellent lead of our deceased Comrade, the late Mr. K. V. Chalapati, a Special Provincial Rural Indebtedness Relief Conference and a special and systematic campaign against the failure of Government to relieve the agrarian distress due to indebtedness. The result is the most unsatisfying Debt Settlement Act and the Revision of the Board Standing Orders for the 'Taccavi' Loans.

Peasants Institute:—

We have tried our best to cooperate with the P.P.C. in running and assisting the Peasants Institute at Nidubrole, which had trained and sent out its third batch of students most of whom are to-day doing excellent work in the Districts.

Pandit Jawaharlal's Tribute:—

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has visited the Andhra Province in October and

November 1936 and has paid glowing tributes to the 'good work' being done by our 'all pervading' peasants associations and also to the "class consciousness" and "socialist mindedness" of our peasants movement "started by Prof. N. G. Ranga". We are rightly proud of our movement and our President the Professor. We ought not to close this brief account of our work without adding a few lines about the really meritorious work being carried on by our two sister organisations, the P.P.C. and the Andhra Zamindari Ryots Association.

Peasants Protection Committee:—

This P. P. C. was first started in June 1931 by Prof. Ranga when he envisaged the impossibility of getting any radical *course de l' action* adopted by the then all-party leadership of the Andhra Ryots Association. As anticipated by him, that Association passed in that October completely into the hands of Justicites who are the worst moderates in this Province. From that time till 1935, when the A.P.R.A. came to be captured by the socialistic minded workers, it was the P.P.C. which kept up the militant attitude and tactics of our peasants movement, maintained the morale of our peasantry even when many Congress workers were demoralised by the overbearing ordinances, devised and developed the peasants Marches, published the Peasants Songs, started the Peasants Institute, Peasants Reference Library, Peasants Publication Company, and mapped out the vast Andhra country with a fine net work of Taluk and District Organisations to all of which our Association has today become heir.

P.P.C's Present Leadership:—

Prof. Ranga, its first President, has made way, so soon as he became the President of our Association, to the graduate of the Peasants Institute. Mr. K. Obulu Reddi, who is its Hon. President and every fresh graduate of the Peasants Institute automatically becomes its member. This Committee is really the spear-head of our movement. It is its members and their thought which put new life and activity and enthusiasm into our movement. All its members are young and as such, inordinately optimistic and impatient about work and our Association is trying its best to deserve all their unbounded love and service for the Peasantry.

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THE PALESTINE AFFAIR

By

(I.A. ISAAC.)

[*The following article is sent to us for publication by Mr. I. A. Isac regarding the Palestine Situation. Though our reading of the situation is entirely different from what the author of the article has depicted we gladly publish the article as it will give an opportunity to the writer to express his views which we do not wish to shut out. Ed.*]

It is an admitted fact that the persecuted Jews all over the world had always before their minds' eye a sublime vision of Palestine as the land of their forefathers flowing with milk and honey and they cherished this consoling ideal for over 2000 years believing that some day they would go back to their holy land. The intensity of the tragedy of their situation well-known to the world, providentially brought about the Balfour Declaration and they rushed for their lives to Palestine for the realisation of their dream with the determination to work and convert the waste land and make it fit for human habitation. The gift is not a charity but they worked hard for it and showed that they well deserved it.

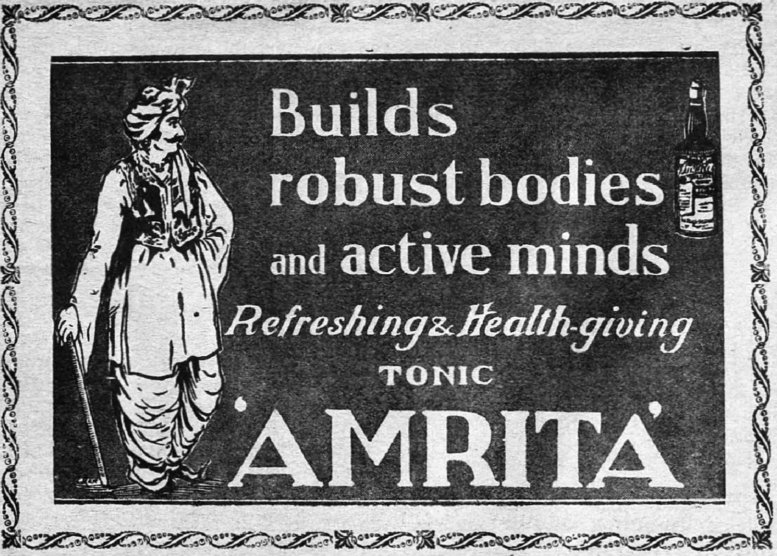
They first took in hand some miles of rocky, barren land, a mere desert on the shore of the Mediterranian and reclaimed it with herculean efforts; a miracle which Jews only could perform as they were intoxicated with the romance and sacredness of the place and further it was their heritage. They transformed this desert, marshy, rocky, malaria-infested and pestilence-ridden land into a wonder land that any modern nation would be proud of, by building beautiful edifices, factories, hospitals, clubs, schools and colleges and even a Hebrew University, electric installations, opening a harbour, installing banks and what not? They did not oust a single Arab from his land, in fact no Arab ever walked on this land which was rejected being unfit for habitation or cultivation. At certain places they bought the land here and there by paying hundredfold its original price which enabled the owners to settle more comfortably elsewhere in the same country. These pioneers with implicit Faith in their destiny not only helped themselves but also raised the status of the Arabs and taught them how to live well.

When this Aladin's lamp in the shape of Jewish labour and Jewish capital metamorphosed the place, jealousy of the effendis crept in as their influence on the ignorant and unlettered was waning and the plums they were enjoying at the cost of the poor Arab labourers and farmers were getting less and less. They ignited the fire of enmity and fanned their fury and indulged in incendiarism and destruction and set the Arabs ruthlessly stabbing and sniping innocent men women and children who had done them no harm, in fact, they had helped them to raise their standard of living, increased their wages and nipped in the bud the question of unemployment. For centuries the land was in their possession and they had given no thought to it. The fact is that the riot was brought about by Italy for political reasons. Italy supplied the rioters with arms and ammunition and financed them liberally with an object which was soon discovered both by the Jews and the British.

There are only 8,00,000 Arabs in Palestine out of the total Arab population of 3,00,00,000. There is enough of room for the persecuted Jews who have

no place under the Sun. In the whole Arab literature not a single line or couplet has been devoted in commendation of Palestine in any direction not a single pilgrim ever visited the place. Their pilgrimage is confined to Mecca and Medina, Bagdad, Cairo etc. It is to the eternal credit of the Jews that this beautiful and Modern City was built not so much by millionaires or Multi-millionaires but by the sturdy poor and middle-class Jews. Mark the love, devotion and loyalty of the Jews that during this terrible and heartrending catastrophe and terrorism not a single Jew turned his back on Palestine and restrained from retaliation. They are bearing their misfortune nobly and with patience hoping that the day is not far off when Jew and Arab the two cousin brothers will meet in a round table conference and settle their misunderstanding and recognise their relationship to live in peace and harmony again as they did once in Spain of old for 800 Years.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a far seeing politician and every thinking man understands his sympathy for Arabs so widely expressed to win over the Indian Moslems to Indian Nationalism. It is akin to Mahatma Gandhi's move at the time of Khalifat agitation but he lived to see its folly and we would not be surprised that similarly Panditji also would meet the same fate and repent for taking sides in this Arab-Jewish struggle.



THE ANDHRA ZAMINDARI RYOTS' ASSOCIATION

This Association was founded in 1929 by Messrs. R. M. Sarma, B.V.P. Raju, C. I. E., M. B. Needu, N. G, Ranga with Mr. B. Venkata Pathi Raju as its President. It then only suoght to get the Estates Land Act of 1918 suitably amended to help the Zamindary Ryots. Its leaders were then highly moderate and lawyer minded. Mr. Biswanath Das Mahasaya, M.L.C. who started this agitation on behalf of these ryots in 1926 was then its main source of inspiration. But at its second Annual Conference held at Venkatagiri in 1931 under the presidency of Prof. N. G. Ranga, it has undergone a regular metamorphosis. It declared as its objective the final abolition of the Zamindary system through legislative action. It formulated its immediate demands. It insisted upon its right to assemble, in spite of the Sec. 144 applied to it by Local Government. Since then, the Andhra Zamindari Ryots Movement and its leaders prof. Ranga, N. V. R. Naidu have become the *Bete Noir* to the Zamindars and local Government. At the third Provincial Conference held in 1933, the Charter of minimum Demands initiated by Mr. R. M. Sarma, who was making an excellent effort to go with the radicals was adopted. After the Peasants met Mahatma Gandhi at Venkatagiri in December 1933, and heard his heartening advice, they agreed with their leader that the abolition of the Zamindari System should be achieved not only by legislative but also by other means.

Economic Enquiry Committee—Its Report:-

It is interesting to note, that while the Indian National Congress has begun to do some economic enquiries into the conditions of peasants only after the 1936 Lucknow Congress, the Nellore Peasants appointed their economic Committee in 1931 and the Andhra Peasants their E. E. Committee in 1933 and the result was the authoritative, irrefutable and epoch-making Report on the Economic Conditions of the Zamindari Ryots published in 1933 by the P. P. Committee.

Amendments To Estates Land Act:-

When Prof. Ranga was still carrying along with him, some of the leaders of moderate minded peasants, an attempt was made to introduce into the Madras Legislative Council, an Amendment Bill, embodying the Peasants minimum demands and drafted by Mr. V. Ramadoss Pantulu. But the Rajah of Bobbilli prevented even its introduction. The Official Bill has attempted, thanks to the able, sincere and painstaking fight of the late Mr. B. M. Naidu, Ex-Chief Minister and a friend of the peasants, to improve the existing unenviable lot of the Zamin Ryots and remove a few of the glaring injustices.

Government And Zamin Ryots:-

As between the Peasants and Zamindars, Governmet steps in from time to time to help and bolster up the Zamindars. With Governmental help our Zamindars try to get our conferences banned, as in Bobbili, to destroy our Associations as in Munagala and to harass our workers as in Pithapur. Government have so far failed to so amend the Estates Land Act as to place our Zamin Ryots at least on the same footing as Ryotwari Ryots.

Survey And Settlement in Bobbili:—

We are proud to say that the real seeds for our Peasants movement were laid in 1921 by the 22 courageous, though illiterate ryots of Bobbili who then went to jail to demand that their lands should be surveyed and settled in a humane and scientific manner. By now their lands have come to be surveyed, displaying there by that the Rajah of Bobbili has been collecting the inhuman rent of Rs. 35/- per acre for more than 100 acres of land that did not exist. They are now fighting hard to get their rent reduced. But how can they succeed against the Zamindar who is the Chief Minister and whose officials are so bad as to try to disperse Pandit Nehru's meeting with the aid of mad elephants?

Resettlement in Parlakimidi:

The Ryots of Parlakimidi have had to put up a very costly and stiff fight to prevent the 300 enhancement of their Rs. 7/- per acre rate, as demanded by the Rajah. After a two years' fight, they have received the small mercy from the Revenue Board that there should be only 36 enhancement.

Civil Liberties in The Zamindaris:—

Much of the most important service rendered by the Zamindari ryot movement and its leader is to fight relentlessly against the tyrranical Zamindari bundobust to prevent peasants from organising their meetings, conferences and associations. In spite of many attempts to beat him, insult him and ill-treat him in many other ways, known only to Zamindars and possible only in Zamindaris, Prof. Ranga has been trying since 1931 to open up every Zamindari village and bring it into a line with the rest of the Nationalist India, make it possible for it to lead a political, self-conscious life. Of course the police have been at the beck and call of the Zamindars but who can prevent the masses from asserting themselves once they make up their mind to free themselves from all their shackles?

Today, the Andhra Ryots and Zamin Ryots Movements have in their possession four printing Presses; the peasants press of Chicacole, Ryots press of Rajahmundry, Zamin Ryot press of Nellore and Kisan press of Madras. We are served by three weeklies and one bi-weekly, the Prajavani, Ryot Patrika, Zamin Ryot and Vahini.

Government Repression:—

In addition to those who were imprisoned in 1931 during the resettlement agitation, the Madras Government has recently prosecuted Mr. P. Sundarayya one of our workers. It has demanded a security of Rs. 1000/- from our Kisan Press and an equal amount from 'Vahini' our bi-weekly from Madras.

Second (Peasants) Pracharak School:—

Mr. R. M. Sarma, the Secretary of the Zamin Ryots Association has started a Pracharak School at Kovvur to train up young peasants to carry on the Zamin Ryots Movement. It may be interesting to note that a C. I. D Shorthand Sub-Inspector, in addition to the local police, carefully watches the activities of this School and the various lecturers. One of the graduates of the Peasants Institute Mr. N. Murti has also opened another institute at Terlam, another storm-centre in Bobbili Zamindari.

Membership:—

The membership of our organisation is discouragingly low. The Andhra Ryots Association has so for reached only 12500 members and the Zamin Ryots Association has only 2000 members. But these two Provincial Associations and the Ad hoc Peasants Protection Committee have established, between themselves, an extraordinary hold upon the peasantry of countryside.

ACHIEVE COMPLETE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

(The following is a letter addressed to all organisations in the country pledged to the attainment of Independence.)

The history of the rise and growth of the United front movement in Europe, Egypt and China is too well-known to need any repetition here. The success of Front Populaire in France and Spain (in spite of disasterous set-backs) in checking the onward rush of Fascism has put a heart in the toiling masses of the world.

In India, the two wings of the Trade Union movement have closed their ranks under the impact of the sharpening economic crisis and intensifying Imperialist drive of represssion and exploitation. Moreover, the United Trade Union Congress and the National Federation of Trade Unions, though unable to achieve an organisational unity, have appointed a joint Committee to take United decisions and action on all matters pertaining to the working class.

A similar tendency has been discerned in the Indian National Congress which resolved at Lucknow to bring itself closer to the million of our peasants and workers. Towards that end, it has appointed a Committe to consider the question of giving functional representation to the Kisan Sabhas and Workers' Unions within its constitution.

Under these circumstances, we believe that the time is now opportune for promoting a mighty alliance of all anti-Imperialist forces consisting of Congress Committees, Kisan and working class organisations in the towns and districts.

Such an Union of all anti-Imperialist forces will function in the various provinces and districts under the guidance of their respective local United Front Committees in order to carry out the programme evolved by the all India United Front Committee developing the struggle for National freedom.

None has stressed the role of the Kisan Sabhas and workers' Unions more eloquently during the recent months than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Indian National Congress. "Such organisations of the Peasants and workers are to be welcomed and it is desirable that they should function in the closest co-operation with the National Congress. They need not, and expect the National Congress to the adopt their programme *in toto*. It is a Nationalist organisation consisting of many groups and classes."

Thus has Pandit Jawaharlal envisaged the necessity of uniting the anti-imperialist forces in the National Congress with these organised in peasants and workers' Unions. All that we propose now is to take a step forward and raise a concrete organisation for the co-ordinating thing and integrating all anti-imperialist forces.

The formation of an United Front comprising of all radical forces within and outside the Congress appears all the more urgent in view of the rapid consolidation and of increasing domination of the Rightist leadership and elements within the National Congress during the last few months. The increasing propaganda for the acceptance of offices openly carried on by responsible leaders of the Congress, the composition and tactics of the Congress Parliamentary Board and its open and increasing number of alliances with the liberal reactionary nationalist parties, its determined refusal to accept the co-operation of all radical socialists

and labour bodies in the country, the vague and equivocal language of the Congress election manifesto regarding the demands formulated by the All India Kisan Committee and the All India Trade Union Congress and finally the choice of candidates including the titled and erstwhile reactionaries and communalists for the forthcoming Legislative elections—all these point to the increasing strength of the present Right leadership which appears to be determined to nullify and sabotage in practice most of the anti-imperialist resolutions of the Lucknow Congress. In fact, it is becoming abundantly clear that the Right leadership will do all in its power to facilitate the working of slave Constitution and co-operate with British Imperialism under the smoke-screen of pompus platitudes about wrecking the reforms and non-cooperation with the Government.

The formation of the United Front of all genuine radical elements formally based on the organisations of the workers and peasants appears to us to be the only weapon available to beat back the advance of the Right forces within the Congress and promote a genuine anti-imperialist struggle for political and economic freedom. Let it be remembered that, in the conditions of India, the national fight should not only be carried on a political plane against British Imperialism but also on the economic front against its feudal and capitalist alliance which supplies the social basis for Imperialism, which is fostered and supported by it. It is only a powerful alliance of all radical forces that alone can hope to defeat the ruthless drive of Imperialism and its inseperable Indian allies.

We, therefore, propose a formation of the National Congress (or its radical committees and rank and filers) with all our existing mass organisations like the Trade Unions, Peasant Unions, Youth Groups, and such other associations which fight against foreign Imperialism and its Indian allies.

The fundamental objects of this UNITED FRONT will be the strengthening and the advancements of the national struggle for complete Independence, aiming at the ending of all exploitations of the Peasants, workers, the lower middle classes and other oppressed and exploited strata of the Indian people. This fundamental object shall guide the programme and day to day activity of the details of the structure of the United Front organisation to be set up in the country.

We should add a word here about the practical advantages of building up the United Front movement.

1. The close association of all leftist and radical-minded worker and organisations connected with the Congress Committees, Kisan sabhas, Trade Unions, Youth and Students' Groups, Tenant and clerks' Unions would help in building up a powerful block within the Congress and its committees.

2. All the members of such United Front Committee working in team spirit would inspire and help each other in rapidly fostering organisational Kisan sabhas, and Trade Unions which in their own turn would lend greater power to the United Front Committee.

3. On all questions of day to day struggle against the capitalist landlords, sowcars etc., the United Front committee would help all the exploited masses to march together in a solid phalanx against the common enemy.

4. All workers' organisations would work together on all questions of National struggle and vital issues of international importance.

With this end in view, we extend cordial invitations to the Indian National Congress, Committees, rank and files, Trade Unions, Kisan sabhas, Youth organisations and similar bodies who are agreed on the general principle of building up of an United Front to send their representatives to take part in the conference to be held at Faizpur during Christmas week to consider and hold a full and free discussion on the issues mentioned in this letter.

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NOTES AND COMMEMTS

Congress Presidential Election.

There were six candidates for the election of the President for the ensuing Congress Session at Faizpur. All the six names suggested by the delegates are well known Congress leaders and barring two of them, the other four have not yet enjoyed that honour. The election was to come off in the first week of December and the country was pulsating with animation as to who was likely to become the President of the Congress. At this phychological situation, Comrade Nehru issued a lengthy statement to the public by which he made it clear that the delegates should choose him only after fully taking into account his views and what he stands for. The Country had the benefit of his activities and his numerous pronouncements for the last eight months and one need not find it difficult to understand Nehru and his political bent.

Following this statement, came the announcement of Vallabhai Patel that he intends to withdraw from the contest, but declaring to the world that he is in fundamental disagreement with the views of Jawaharlal and still asking the public to "plump for Jawaharlal." We are also informed that Sjt C. R. a deserving but a right wing leader has also withdrawn his candidature. In fact one need not discriminate between the right-wing leaders as ideologically and politically there is not any difference between them except that one has had that honour while the other had not. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan whose election also would be equally welcome to the Congress definitely refused that honour and the post of responsibility telling the world that he is only a soldier who knows how to fight and not a statesman.

Thus by this process three had practically left the field and the remaining three *viz*. Jawaharlal, Subas Bose. Dr. Pattabhi seemed to fight the contest. But we are sure that Pattabhi does not stand any chance in this contest as the trend is definitety towards either Jawaharlal or Subash. Subash, the doughly fighter is still languishing as a detenue on account of the heartless conduct of the henchmen of Imperialism and this chosen victim of Imperialist hooliganism, though elected to the high office, is unable to discharge the duties of his office by remaining under detention. Finally Subash also with drew. Thus the election of Comrade Jawaharlal became almost an accomplished fact.

Thus Socialist and anti-Imperialist elements all over the country must be jubilant over his re-election. Jawaharlal has given a new shape and a new orientation to the entire Indian Politics. He has started various departments to conduct various activities of the Nation and Comrade Jawaharlal will now get a fresh lease of life to carry on his activities. But we hope that this time, he will be more independent and his views will find universal acceptance among the Congressmen and the country. One should be frank and outspoken and only by such means people who think alike can come together and do work. This time Comrade Jawarharlal must make use of his office for the furtherance of his aims and objects and we are sure that others will rally round him and give all sorts of co-operation in the conduct of the fight against Imperialism and its allies. Now that Comrade Jahaharlal has been re-elected to the Presidentship we congratulate the country for it. Let us hope that the re-election of Jawaharlal will usher in a new era of National regenaration and a new social order.

Tamil Nadu Congress' Socialist Conference.

The first Tamil Nadu Congress Socialists Conference took place at Salem under the presidentship of Comrade Dinkar Mehta the Secretary of All India Congress Socialist Party. In the course of his presidential address Comrade Mehta traced the history of the Socialist movement, the present international situation and the growth of the movement in this country. While he was referring to the south he said, "They in the south should put up a strong fight against the tendency in some of their leaders to accept offices as it would mean co-operation of the Congress with Imperialism." We would like to remind Comrade Mehta that this tendency is not manifest only in the south as Vallabhai, the President of the All India Congress Parliamentary Board has given expression to the same view recently. This malady is rampant all over India in the minds of all the reactionary right wing leaders and if it is to be destroyed, it can be done only by presenting a combined united front against them by all the revolutionary forces of the land. The top-heads of the Congress having exhausted all their pseudo-revolutionary fervour are now arraying themselves on the side of the vested interests as they themselves are drawn out of that class and they wish to make use of the new opportunities given by Imperialism to exploit the masses. It is impossible for them to think in terms of mass liberation, abolition of the vested interests and a rule of the masses. They also know full well that they are unable to lead a mass struggle which will in the end not only challenge and overthrow Imperialism but also themselves and their class.

The task of the Congress Socialist Party therefore is now to organise the workers, Peasants and youths in order to make them class conscious and fight for National Independence. The growing unemployment of the land is an indication of the bankruptcy of statesmanship on the part of the authorities and as the philosophy of Socialism alone gives the right perspective and hope for the masses, they are sure to come under the banner of the Socialist Party.

The Tamil Nadu Congress Socialist Party has a great task to fulfill. It is just started and it must draw in its fold all good workers who are earnest about their job. It should not merely encourage opposition to the individual reactionary leaders of the Congress, but it must organise on scientific basis and lead the masses. Though we do not believe in Congress Socialism, it is good that the Socialists join the Congress to make use of that organisation for better work and better use. We wish the Tamil Nadu Party every success.

Suicide of Detenus.

No humane Government however autocratic it may be can make people under its ward suffer as the Bengal Government does. The story of the Bengal Detenus has become one of the most tragic episodes of the British Imperialist regime in India. Under a lawless law, thousands of youngmen and women are caught and imprisioned without any trial or specific period being given. One of our stalwart leaders is languishing at kurscong and news has reached us that three detenus being unable to stand this kind of continued and heart breaking suffering have put an end to their life itself. We are sure that these things will not move Imperialism to change its conduct. But these suicides have brought to the notice of the public more prominently the brutal aspect of the detention and we do not know how many youngmen and women have even grown insane on account of their continued and prolonged detention. The public must not rest content by merely appealing to the powers that be, for all such appeals have fallen so far only on deaf years.

As one great politician said, " With these detenus in bondage, if any one

accepts office of the minister, he is not a minister but a monster." There can be no two opinions on this statement. Any co-operation with Imperialism is bad enough. But added to the humiliation of being governed by foreigners, if one is to become a party to their machinations and schemes of repression, there is nothing more heinous in this country than that. We would warn our office acceptance enthusiasts that they should be guided in their movements by the conduct of those with whom they wish to associate before they can dream of co-operating with them. The story of the detenus is tragic enough. But if the leaders of our Nation were to ignore this, the tragedy is much more poignant than the tragedy of British rule itself.

Release of Comrade M. N. Roy,

We heartily welcome back to our midst Com. Roy who has just been released from Prison after six years of imprisonment. Com. Roy's services to the country and to the cause of the masses is well known. He has been one of the pioneers of the working class movement and his active association with Lenin at Russia has earned for him high esteem. Of late he fell out with the Stalin policy and the third international and since then Roy has been preaching for National Democratic Revolution. As soon as Roy is released, he has thrown himself into the whirl-pool of politics and he is elected as a Delegate to the Congress Com. Roy will surely strengthen the hands of Jawaharlal by his help and Co-operation in the Congress and his recent appeal is timely. He says, "Today the Indian National Congress is the only organisation in the country which can serve as a rallying ground for all Anti-Imperialist forces in the country. I would therefore appeal to all workers to join the Congress in their thousands and individually. It is only the active participation of workers in the Congress that can transform it into an effective organ of the Indian masses in their struggle against Imperialism." This is as it should be. We have been stressing the same point consistently and coming as it does from Com. Roy this statement will have a far reaching effect. It is only by joining the Congress in large numbers a new ideology can be introduced in the Congress and the reactionary leadership overthrown. Otherwise the right-wing leaders will use all their power to keep the Congress as a class organisation to seek their petty class interests. It is only by taking away their leadership from the Congress, an effective front against Imperialism can be presented. Moreover the socialist strategy and tactics are to make use of all available platforms for the furtherance of their cause. Therefore we believe that the appeal of Comrade Roy will be fully responded to.

Comrade M.N. Roy in Politics

After the release of M. N. Roy he has given various interviews and statements to the public which have shown us the trend of his thought in recent times. We may be permitted to remark that Comrade M. N. Roy has had no direct contact or intimate touch with Indian politics so far; and just after his release from prison after the long period of six years, he should have weighed his statement regarding the policies of Congress before definitely committing himself for a course of work. From whatever can be gathered from the statements of Comrade M.N.Roy., it seems to us that he is not opposed to the office acceptance scheme of the rightwing leaders. In fact the anti Imperialist front envisaged by the radical elements of the country has gathered momentum only on this plank of non-acceptance of office and fight for complete Independence. To the average Congress worker the immediate question is whether the Congress should support, or become acquiescing agents of Imperialism or must relentlessly carry on the struggle against it. You cannot have the cake and eat it

at the sametime. There is no half-way house between office acceptance and struggle for independence. When you begin to cooperate and engage yourself in day today administrative activities of the Government, your fight for Independence ceases. Even revolutionary conception of using the offices for a furtherance of social change can only hold good in a country free from foreign domination where the power of a Minister is geuuine and real. In India under the aegis of Imperialism acceptance of office with a view to struggle for National Independence would be similar to the attempt of passing a counterfeit coin for a genuine one. We hope that Comrade M.N.Roy will benefit by his contact with men of Jawaharlals' type and use all his power to the furtherance of an anti Imperialist struggle instead of playing into the hands of reactionaries and rightwing leaders of Congress. In fact, just like the devil quoting scripture, various contemporaries have resorted to quote him extensively on the office acceptance issue. We hope that he will guard himself against providing opportunities for such calumny.

Comrade Ranga's Presidentship of Peasants' Conference:—

We congratulate Comrade Ranga for his election to the Presidentship of the Peasants' Conference to be held at Faizpur during the Congress session. Comrade Ranga's services to the cause of peasantry and his record of work are unchallengable. He has dedicated most of the time for the improvement of the conditions of the peasants and has constantly endeavoured to lift the underdog from below. Throughout Andhra and other places in Madras, Ranga is very well known for his activities among the peasants and he is also the secretary of the Peasants' group in Assembly. It is only in the fitness of things that he should be chosen to this honour.

Nature's Music.

The music of the river,
The hum of the bees
Mingling sweetly together
With the rustling leaves
Make a sweet harmony
Sing a hymenal euphony.

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